592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other [928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [839] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

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683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most [692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed 696 down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in 684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which 189 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East] ● 562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakushetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punishment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not 684 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru* which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*
[60] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 237.
[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keiriu* 7: 28.
[62] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241.

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1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

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[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

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On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned [57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

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meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

[56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

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Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

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women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kazukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei
Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

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CHAPTER II

THE STATUS OF AINU WOMEN

It will be seen in the next chapter how a certain haunted man professed to despise his departed spouse and how he said that now she was dead and buried he never wished to see her again. But it must not be supposed from this example and one or two more I might cite if necessary, that the Ainu men are misogynists, for they are not so. However, they sometimes tell a remarkable story of the creation of Hokkaidō (Yezo), which hits very hard at any talkative woman's capacity for chattering. It is also sometimes quoted by the hearth to children, in order to inculcate the principle of working rather than talking. Hokkaidō, we may remind ourselves, is a fine island about the size of Ireland. It has good, rich soil, great abundance of wood, and much coal and other minerals. It has also extensive plains and is well watered. But the western coasts of the island are much more rugged and precipitous than the eastern, and the legend now about to be cited has to do with this fact. It is as follows.

"The island of Yezo was made by two deities, one of whom was a male, and the other a female, and they were sent by the Creator of the world. The female had the west coast allotted to her as her portion of work, while to the male deity were assigned the south and eastern parts. For a time they vied with each other in their tasks to see which would get through first. But as the female was proceeding with her work she happened to meet with the sister of Aeoina, and in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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539 stead of attending to her duty, stopped to have a chat
562 with her, as is the general custom among women when they meet.

"Whilst they were thus chattering the time sped, till the male deity, working away hard, had nearly finished his portion of the task. Upon looking up and seeing this, the female became very much surprised and frightened and, in order to hasten matters, did her work in a most hasty and slovenly manner. Hence it is that the west coast of Yezo is so rugged and dangerous. If, therefore, anyone is disposed to grumble at the very rugged, rough and dangerous condition of the west coast of this land, let him remember that it was not the Creator Himself who was at fault in this matter, but His deputy. The chattering propensity of the woman god was the cause of this calamity."

Then a nice little moral is drawn from this really beautiful story: "Set a watch over your lips and
[181] attend to your duties, for see how rough the west coast of Yezo is, and that all owing to a chattering goddess!"

But it must not be supposed that the lady was let off without punishment for this grave delinquency. She got such a sound scolding from her male companion that it made her weep bitterly. And this was the origin of tears. Tears are called *nupe* and my informant told me that this means "hear," and "water." She heard and water came from her eyes.

562 On first going among the interior villages, I was much surprised to see how very dignified, ladylike, and decorous the women folk were in many cases, and how much respect the men had for them. The women, where they had not been touched by outside influences, were regarded and treated as the equals of the men, and they had a voice in all home affairs. They were indeed rulers in their own households, and they kept a very sharp eye on their daughters, seeing that they behaved themselves and did their own work. If the men did not like the woman's rule, all they could do

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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AINU WOMEN DANCING

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AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people in almost every respect since early times, yet there are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men consisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

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181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 I was very much surprised to find that the women
782 did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was
562 left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to
782 offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are
769 taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 692 The punishment of minor offences and recognized crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 627 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless [623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 562 593 [184] In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce [586 428] any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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A TATTOOED WOMAN

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AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so ●562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

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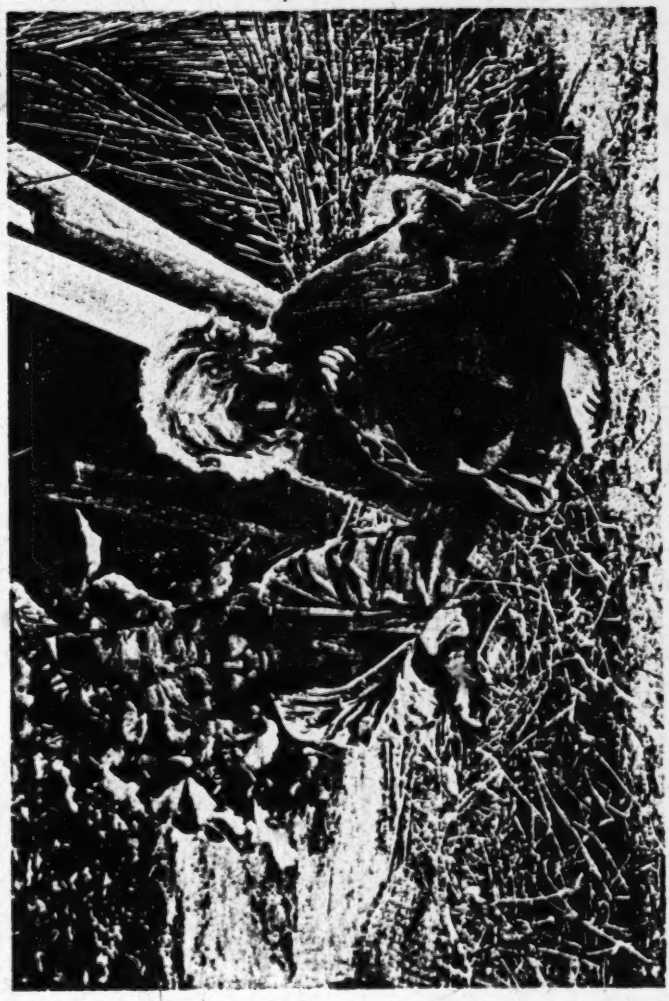

TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

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AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake.

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-aeramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

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them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"! 117

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food. 512 221 562 462 242 243 244 222 262 251 252

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But 242 829

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 171] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and scraping their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

first one and then the other in such a way as to allow the points of the fingers gently to touch the palm of each hand alternately. It was a very pleasing sight and the ceremony was most solemn. The other chief did likewise at the same time, while I had to sit quietly by in a respectful manner and watch without appearing to look. Whilst this was in progress, Penri told his friend all about his own village affairs first, and then what he knew of me. When this had been done, each raised his hands to his face and stroked his beard, at the same time making a little rumbling sound with the throat. This I was told was the correct man's salutation. And I was glad to take my first lesson under such good auspices. 574 576

As soon as Penri had finished, he gave me a prearranged signal and I did likewise to the best of my ability. It was my first essay, but as I had seen how they did it and had been well coached beforehand as to what to say, I made no mistakes. Penri afterwards told me that I did it very well! He seemed to take quite a fatherly interest in me and all I did. When we had finished we, as in duty bound, saluted the mistress in the same way, and then settled down to a long quiet talk about things in general.

The women's salution was, I found, quite different. Whilst the men were doing theirs, the Chief's wife sat quietly by the side of her spouse, reverently holding one hand over her mouth, though at times she took it away when it was necessary to make up the fire. As we saluted her, she sat very still with her eyes cast down for a few minutes and then slowly brushed back the front locks of her hair and placed one hand over her mouth. Next she stretched her left hand down her side to the full length; after that she drew the index finger of the right hand gradually up the middle of the left hand and arm as far as the shoulder. She then very quietly and gracefully drew this same right hand index finger from left to right 562 576

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

562 576 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the [178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 171 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134(A)]

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CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off. 582 583 [562]

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *saké* and say, "We have here and now 585 [584]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of *sake*. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted because I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been mentioned in another place, the wife never took the husband's name, but retained her old one. When not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-cikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *heku-cikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 582 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime [591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 562 When children were betrothed quite young, the bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

●562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
[431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 suppose. Yet, on becoming better acquainted with them, I found it to exist in every house, for it is seen in the worship of the ancestral fire goddess upon the hearth and in the prayers and offerings made before her old man consort as he stands in his place behind the treasures in his corner at the north-eastern end of the hut. The worship of these was described in the chapter on "The Two Household Gods" and is not further referred to here.

769 562 When living with this people, I was much surprised to find that the women did not worship the gods. Indeed, for a long time I supposed that they worshipped nothing at all. But one day I was astonished to find on returning to the chief's hut, where I was staying, that the mistress was outside by the east end window, sitting down on her knees before the fetishes set up there towards the sunrise. She had a libation of *saké* in a wooden cup and a morsel of food in a leaf. I had surprised her in an act of worship. I found out later, when talking to her on the subject, that she had been sent out by her husband to worship and make offerings to the departed spirits of the family, for these spirits were not supposed to be so very far away. When I asked Mrs. Penri what she said when worshipping as I then saw her, she replied, "I was told to say, 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present you with this *saké* and food. Please condescend to accept this offering and be ye happy!'"

761 775 The old chief and I had much conversation on these matters soon after, and I learned many things from him. Particularly did I learn that in their idea, death in no way implied the extinction of the life or soul. He said they did not like the body to become a senseless corpse, but we must not imagine that because it became such, the soul also decomposed or got withered up; and here a thought seemed to strike him, for he said, "Look here, my friend, the old Ainu used to

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

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No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

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At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

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The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

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Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681 [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. [695] [682]

H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. 114

HUNTING AND FISHING.

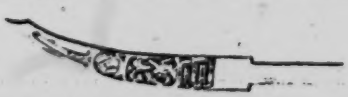
Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224 [136]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such



WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atzis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

BACK OF ATZIS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu huts. One day an Ainu clutched one of these arms and pulled it in, when a tattooed pattern on the tiny arm was greatly admired by the hairy conquerors, who adopted the practice from that day.

A simpler reason is that the women, not being so hairy as the men, are humiliated by their inferiority in that respect, and try to make up for it by tattooing themselves. In support of this theory may be quoted the fact that women are only tattooed in parts which are left uncovered when clad in their long *atzis* gowns.

The Ainu process of tattooing is a painful one. The tattoo marks are usually done with the point of a knife; not with tattooing needles, as by the Japanese. Many incisions are cut nearly parallel to each other. These are then filled with cuttle-fish-black. Sometimes smoke-black mixed with the blood from the incisions is used instead. On the lips the operation is so painful that it has to be done by instalments. It is begun with a small semicircle on the upper lip when the girl is only two or three years of age, and a few incisions are added every year till she is married, the moustache then reaching nearly to the ears, where at its completion it ends in a point. Both lips are surrounded by it; but not all women are thus marked. Some have no more than a semicircular tattoo on the upper lip; others have an additional semicircle under the lower lip; and many get tired of the painful process when the tattoo is hardly large enough to surround their lips. The father of the girl is generally the operator, but occasionally it is the mother who "decorates" the lips and arms of her female offspring. Besides this tattooed moustache, a horizontal line joins the eyebrows, and another line, parallel to it, runs across the forehead. The tattoo could not be of a coarser kind. A rough geometrical drawing adorns the arms and hands of women, the pattern of one arm being often different from that of the other. Frequently only one arm is tattooed. I never saw tattoos that went further than the elbow, neither did I see any other part of the body tattooed. The four specimens given in the illustration show the patterns most usual in different tribes, though each individual has some slight variations.

Fig. 1 was copied by me from the arm of a woman at Frishi-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no "divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau neṭoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
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7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

[576] [562] We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should [292] keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They [789] show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1]

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukaisk*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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769 drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served cere-
273 monially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning
[782] with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The
574 householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads
769 him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called
535 *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down some-
887 times in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This
[533] is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of
[562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own
[558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*)
535 might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the
273 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre.
574 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their
769 previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become
[533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

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General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the
562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman.
[585] She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[602] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is considered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there
[182] are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In
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1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[[p. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]]

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843 562 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 843 825 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 784 283 286 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails of the child might then get entangled like string. The same can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

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Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub the sick spot with it.

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

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my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of membership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities. The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was, though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

The Torch.

The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the salmon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

The Peep-fishing Hut.

The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2, b). It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*. The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1/1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

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226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59–60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

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825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

226 782 796 [431] [574] The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*, *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 784 562 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds than for other sites.

825 796 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[1]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

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52 The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1).

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *kamuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual.

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inomo itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men.

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and

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226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido, fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi* ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event [562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settle- [782] ment." INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

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of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926 and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940; NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his